1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 178 212 satisfaction with traditional ways but also because the low level of literacy makes difficult even the presentation of new methods. The low level of literacy directly limits the media available for propagation of new ideas, and there is little consciousness of the existence of other methods in other areas. These factors restrict the intellectual horizon and reduce the tolerance for change.

241 407 [242 354] As yet, mechanized agriculture is almost unknown--there are probably less than fifty tractors in the entire Recôncavo. Agricultural machinery is confined almost exclusively to government agricultural experiment stations and extension services or to the largest sugar fazendas--in 1952-53 the tractors of the fazendas were largely unused because of the lack of new parts or general unsuitability for the tasks at hand. A very small number of agricultural workers have had any experience with agricultural machinery. The introduction of large quantities of farm equipment would raise many problems related to skill and receptivity. However, the truck, bus, and jeep are omnipresent in [493] the Recôncavo, and the number of competent drivers and mechanics is surprisingly large. Most of these mechanically skilled workers live in the cities and towns, but some are available everywhere, especially in the sugar area. In this area, too, many workers have had experience with such massive equipment as the ox-plow. Thus the introduction of tractors and their accessories into the sugar zone, the area most adapted to mechanization at the present moment, would find at least a small cadre of experienced workers available.

241 461 In addition to skills, the mode of labor and the attitude toward work are important factors in evaluating the agricultural labor force. Agricultural work in the Recôncavo tends to be a joint enterprise--it is joint effort which makes it possible to perform many heavy or arduous tasks with little mechanical assistance. On the cane plantati

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241 462 857 On the cane plantations the field work of planting and harvesting is done by labor gangs composed of men, women, and older children. There is some specialization: men cut the cane, women gather and pile the cane stalks and leaves, and the older children assist at these tasks and at managing the ox carts. The smaller children remain at home, where they are responsible from a very early age for some household tasks.

241 592 462 857 Outside the sugar zone the family is a basic labor unit. Men, women, and children work in the fields as required and participate in processing tobacco and manioc. To an even greater extent than is characteristic of the sugar zone the children participate in family tasks, and as soon as they can manage the hoe, they join in the field work.

461 565 The upper class Baiano seldom does physical labor—to do physical work is to lower one's status. In the lower class work would seem to be approached as a somewhat unpleasant necessity which is best tackled in a cheerful and convivial atmosphere. The agricultural laborer is given to spells of extremely hard work interrupted by banter and occasional "horseplay." While the lone worker often seems rather cheerless and plodding in the field, the shouted jokes, songs, and exclamations of groups of laborers frequently resound throughout the countryside. The intermittent vigorous labor seems to be an extension of play, for there is little social evaluation of hard work for its own sake.

Despite the enthusiasm and commotion which surrounds almost any effort, the per capita productivity of the worker in the Recôncavo 461 147 is relatively modest. In part this is a result of the intermittent character of the work, but a more important factor is the limited energy of the worker. The lower class of the Recôncavo is weakened by perennial hunger, bad diet, and disease.[27]

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241 464 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia. [131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is [461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 241 464 463 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

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241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricultural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

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241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

[The Private Plantation]

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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá
Value of the plantation: Cr$1, 500, 000, 00.[3]
Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile taúá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75, 000. 00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

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[The Private Plantation]

*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 464 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 • 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Moças, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

Ricardo Teixeira	2nd weeding of cane field	13 1/2	braças*	at	Cr$ 3,50	Cr$ 47,25
Julio Bispo	digging drainage ditch	30	meters	at	1,50	45,00
Paulo Manoel	carrying seed	12	trips	at	0,80	9,60
José Santo	cutting seed	5	loads	at	0,80	4,00
S. Santo	cutting out cattle	1	day	at	15,00	15,00
Malaquias Ario	trip to neighboring plantation	1	trip	at	10,00	10,00
Mario Adriano	3rd weeding of cane field	249	braças	at	3,70	921,30
F. Cramosa	planting	3 1/2	braças	at	2,20	7,70
Cecilio Argolo	replanting	65	braças	at	1,50	97,50
Paulo Manoel	carpentering	3	days	at	23,00	69,00
Sancho Santiago	repairing estiva	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Paulo Souza	1st weeding of cane field	35	braças	at	3,20	112,00
Agostinho Batista	catching escaped cattle	2		at	10,00	20,00
Mario Serra	repairing fences	250	braças	at	0,15	37,50
Maria das Dores	gathering cane leaves for animal fodder	4	cartloads	at	2,00	8,00
Francisco Julião	loading railway wagon with sugar cane	1/2	day	at	7,50	7,50
Pedro Julio	cutting bamboo	12	mãos†	at	5,00	60,00
Francisco Brito	conducting load of wood	1	load	at	15,00	15,00
Crispim Argolo	repairing barracks	2 1/2	days	at	12,00	30,00
Domingos Moura	gardening	12	days	at	10,00	120,00
Osorio Ancieto	burying a burro	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Pedro Julio	carrying water	1	day	at	10,00	10,00

*The braça equals 6 feet and is the measurement always used locally in the cane fields.
†Mão is a bundle of fifty and is used locally in speaking of fence posts and ears of corn.

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indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many [824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

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Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization.

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá.

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house.

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the

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[The Usina]

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run separately. One set of books is kept for the agricultural part, and one set for the factory. The six plantations combined produced eighteen thousand tons of cane in 1950, although they had planned on twenty-three thousand. The fall in the expected harvest was due to several things. First, less new cane was planted, because of the activities of the petroleum workers who were invading the cane fields of the factory and drilling oil wells. (The first time a field is cut, the percentage of cane is higher than that obtained by cuts during the next four or five years. The same amount of land, therefore, will produce more cane if it is replanted regularly. The factory, however, deemed it wiser to be content with the older plantings for one year because of the oil workers' invasion, for newly planted cane is more subject to damage than an established field.) Second, during that year there was a serious drought which affected adversely the growth of sugar cane. There is no irrigation in the Recôncavo, and during the drought seasons which come periodically a partial crop loss nearly always occurs. In addition one entire taboleiro caught fire and burned to the ground, causing the loss of many tons of cane.

The agricultural cycle and the work on a plantation may be divided into two broad epochs, summer and winter. Summer is the busiest season, for it is harvest time and all hands are occupied, including the migrant workers. The cutters with their machetes cut an average of three to four tons a day apiece, which must be quickly loaded and carried to the factory and milled, for the longer the lapse of time between the two operations, the greater the loss of sugar content. After a field has been cut, one of two things occurs. If it is to be turned into pasture, it is fenced, and the draft animals are turned loose in it. Otherwise the leaves which were cut from the top of the plant and left lying on the ground are burned, and within a short time the roots start sending up new shoots. This old planting (soca) each year gives a decreased yield. As a rule a field is cut and burned three to four years before being turned into pasture. In the days of the old plantations, when the soil was more vigorous, cane of twelve years was considered "new cane." Now, however, the yield is so decreased by the increasing poverty of the soil that three to four years is the best, depending upon the amount of rain. During the summer, if land is prepared and there are prospects of heavy showers, "summer plantings" may be made. They are never as good as those done in the winter, for the sun frequently

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attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. If the shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

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[435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it [465] made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

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the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together.

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardines and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets.

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves.

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

226 long and has ropes on each end 420 feet long. This net demands a large canoe. The usual size in use is 30 feet long.

226 427 Few of the fishermen own their own calão--most rent it from a merchant who has one. It is rented by the master on a long-term basis rather than for just one trip. It is said that the master "toma conta da rede," meaning that he not only is fishing with the net, but also repairs it and dyes it when needed. The owner of the net, who usually also owns the canoe and the paddles, receives 20 per cent of the profits of each 226 trip. The remainder is divided among the six men, although the master and baixador each receive one-third more than the [435] other four. Depending on how the fish are running, the calão may catch as much as Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$1.500,00 worth of fish per trip, or as little as Cr$120,00 worth. Two trips a day are made when the fishing is good. There are only eight of these nets in the town, and they are worth about Cr$1.500,00 apiece. The calãozinho is a smaller net of the same type, sometimes called the redinha, or little net. Although its operation is almost the same as that of the larger net, it re- [178] quires only four men to maneuver it. However, it is becoming [461] less and less popular as the resse increases in popularity.

On land, good care must be taken of the nets. After the 227 fishing, the nets are carried up along the beach to the drying racks, long lines of poles over which the nets are spread. As they dry the master checks them, looking for holes which he immediately sews with a wooden bobbin and cotton thread. [824] The nets are hand-woven of cotton, and dyed in water in which the bark of the red mangue has soaked. This turns the white cotton a dark reddish brown and protects it from the action of the salt water and the sun. A new net must be soaked in this dye every two or three days, and later every eight days.

227 286 The resse, abaladeira, and tarrafa are frequently woven by women, and, unless worked on steadily, these nets may take [462] as long as eight months to make. With steady work a circular [461] casting net can be made in about twelve days. The women are [435] paid Cr$12,00 per box of cotton line which contains twenty-five spools of cotton thread, and it takes five boxes to make an average-size net. The other nets require heavier thread and take much longer to make. The calão and the deep net are made by men, and a year is not considered too long for the [824] manufacture of one. Piassava, a plant fiber which grows in 227 the Recôncavo, is used as line. The fishermen of Vila Recôncavo go to the southwestern part of the bay to purchase it. It

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harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

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change. New faces and basically different relationships pre- [466]
vail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an 178
increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. 249*
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 433
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did be- [471]
fore, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can [466]
be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each
plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila 178
Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, [466]
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing fea-
ture: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker
relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Opera- 178
tions are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but pri- 249*
vate planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain 461
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; [492]
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an [493]
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [407]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some planta- [492]
tions. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, [407]
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no me- [242]
chanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared,
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few sci-
entific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still
first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations 178
have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have 571
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters
who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of
the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers re-
sented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers.
Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers
instituted several new policies in relations with the cane sup- [443]
pliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the [452]
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had [407]
their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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[434]

can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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*[247]

Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the
466 owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.
249 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
472 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
[473] São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked
[162] on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their [464]
evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart [466]
from the permanent workers. [249]

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of [157]
American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with [461]
him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident [464]
workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. [466]
They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a 162
sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little mulato. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulato'. [829]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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and mulatto slaves noticeable even before 1800, had by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century become great. In 1822, for instance, the free blacks in Maranhão were reckoned at 9,308; the free mulattoes, at 25,111. Only 6,580 mulattoes were still in bondage as compared with 77,954 blacks. Thus, in this important center of Negro concentration, over three-fourths of the mixed-bloods had by 1822 been emancipated, whereas approximately only one-eighth of the blacks had been liberated. Walsh in 1828 reports that there were at that time in Brazil approximately 160,000 free blacks and 400,000 free mulattoes. In 1835, among a total of 170,000 mulattoes in Minas Geraes, only 40,000, or less than one-fourth, were reported to be slaves; while 250,000 out of an estimated 305,000 blacks, or approximately five-sixths, were still in bondage.[6] Although no figures are available for Bahia, it is likely that similar proportions held here also.

These numerically important liberated mulattoes began their rise in social rank by becoming small farmers (*lavradores, sitiantes*), or artisans (both rural and urban), street merchants, small shopkeepers, etc., taking their places beside those lower-class whites who either had not yet risen or did not possess the requisite ability to rise.

Free blacks, as well as free mulattoes, were able to establish themselves in manual occupations more readily than their brothers in the United States because the descendants of Europeans in Brazil have ordinarily looked down upon manual labor, as attested by the common saying: "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" (work [that is, hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs). "Whatever may have been the en-

[6] Maurice Rugendas, *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*, trans. from the German by de Colbery (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), p. 27.

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ergy exerted by their immigrant fathers, creoles [native Brazilians] ordinarily imbibed the colonial prejudice against labor, and assumed the airs of gentlemen." Free men of color entering agricultural or artisan employment "in no way aroused the jealousy of Europeans."[7]

The mobility of the Brazilian population in the colonial period, both vertically and horizontally, facilitated climbing. Changes in status during the lifetime of a given individual were common phenomena and at times even precipitous, a condition reflected in the common saying "Pae taberneiro, filho cavalheiro, neto mendicante" ("Father an innkeeper, son a squire, grandson a beggar"). Endogamy among the rural aristocracy, even in such *fidalgo* centers as Bahia and Pernambuco, was never absolute. Clerks and small merchants in the cities, immigrant peddlers in the interior, modest proprietors of small farms, owners of small herds of cattle—all aspired to, and some succeeded in attaining, the ranks of the rural aristocracy.[8]

Similarly significant was freedom to move in space. For in areas distant from those of their birth, light mulattoes of slave origin often managed to pass for individuals born of free parents. They were thus able readily to strip from themselves the social stigma of servile origin. One of the functions of the *bandeiras* and the *monções*[9] was to assist ambitious individuals to whom migration and the freedom of the frontier appeared to offer the most rapid and successful means of social advancement. Many mixed-bloods sought out new homes and became settlers, stock-raisers, small

[7] H. A. Wyndham, *The Atlantic and Slavery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 249–50.

[8] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[9] The *bandeiras* (also called *monções*) were groups of hardy explorers and frontier fighters who explored the interior of raided Indian villages for slaves.

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But the free Negro, in competition with the European and his descendants, was faced with a difficult struggle. Even though he might cease to speak Nagô and to scarify his face and body; even though his wife might discard her distinctive African costume, and both no longer identify themselves with African fetish beliefs and practices but give instead allegiance to Catholic forms; nevertheless, the free Negro could not escape the fact that he was sharply differentiated from the ruling class in color, hair texture, and facial characteristics. He could not readily discard a highly visible badge of his former slave status. Wherever he went he would be known, if not for a slave, at least for the descendant of slaves.

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The occupations of the free Negroes, or at least those of their immediate forebears, had been employments commensurate with servile status and had ordinarily consisted in hard, sordid, manual labor. The common saying, "Trabalho é para cachorro e negro" ("Work [i.e., hard manual labor] is for Negroes and dogs"), reflects this fact. To work with one's hands has been in Brazil long considered debasing for a white man. As Monteiro has said, "Even if in Portugal he had been a servant with a hoe in his hands, upon setting his foot upon Brazilian soil, he cared not to work."[106] That artisan labor was not a white man's job was long a tradition in Brazil.[107] To be a white was identical with being noble,[108] and "there was a common root of plebeian origin: it was African descent."[109] Government employ was for a long time

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[106] Vahia Monteiro, quoted by F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 153.

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[108] Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 139.

[109] "A côr significava nobreza; havia uma comum origem plebéia—o tronco africano" (Calmon, *op. cit.*, I, 24).

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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).